UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Francis Neilson | Louis L. Mann | Curtis W. Reese

The Fascination of the Oversimple

By M. C. OTTO

The Kellogg Treaty and the Outlawry of War

By S. O. LEVINSON

College Medicine-Men

By CURTIS W. REESE

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Part IV, Chapter XLVII—Part V, Chapter I

By M. K. GANDHI

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John Haynes Holmes — Francis Neilson
Curtis W. Reese — Louis L. Mann

UNITY is a weekly paper, sixteen pages, containing timely editorial comment, special articles, foreign correspondence by its own representatives in Europe and Asia, book reviews, and regular reports of news from the field of liberal thought and action.

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CII MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1928 NUMBER 2

THE PEACEMAKERS

August 27, 1928

Rejoice, upon this day
Let songs of praise increase,
All ye who toiled and hoped
And prayed for world-wide peace.
By solemn pact the nations stand
To banish war from every land.

Rejoice with one accord,
But let not striving cease,
The way is rugged, still,
That leads to world-wide peace;
But one hard step upon that way
Was taken, on this sacred day.

Rejoice, and offer thanks
To God, with heart and soul,
And consecrate yourselves
Anew, to reach the goal.
Press on with strength where seers have trod
And blazed the path; go forth with God.

MARGUERITE EMILIO.

In our issue for August 12th last, we suggested that Mr. Salmon O. Levinson, father of the "Outlawry of War" idea, should be granted the Nobel Peace Prize, and we urged our readers to advise the Nobel Committee to this effect. In response, we have received inquiries as to the address of the Nobel Committee. To which we respond in turn that the address is:

Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament
Drammensvei 19
Oslo, Norway.

As there seems to be some question as to whether candidates can be suggested at this late date for the 1928 Prize, we would suggest that Mr. Levinson be proposed also for the 1929 Prize in recognition of his initiation of the movement which came to triumph in this current year.

The perspective of the month which has passed since the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Treaty at Paris, enables us to see with growing clearness that this event marked, as the French Foreign Secretary declared, "a new date in history-making." Ten nations on that fateful August 27th set their seals to a pledge of mutual agreement to "renounce war as an instrument of national policy." Since that date, and to the date of the writing of this editorial, over forty other nations of the world have joined, or promised to join, the original signatories in this pledge of agreement. Just as a spectacle—a gesture, if you will—this fact is of momentous significance. "For the first time," said Mr. Briand, in his address, "a treaty is truly devoted to the very establishment of peace, initiating a new law freed from all political contingencies." But that this is something more than a mere spectacle or gesture, a veritable accomplishment in the ending of war forever as a crime against humanity, is positively demonstrated by the concluding portion of the speech by Secretary Briand which we print in this issue of our paper in "The Field." Here is everything for which Mr. S. O. Levinson, UNITY, and the other Outlawry of War advocates in this country have been contending from the beginning. By the Treaty, war is "branded with illegality"—by mutual accord truly and regularly *"outlawed"*; it (the Treaty) "is a direct blow to the institution of war"—since war shall now "no longer be deemed lawful"; the nations "will gradually forsake the habit of associating the idea of national interest with the idea of force," and will find the sanction of peace in "the moral forces, among which is that of public opinion." This is what the Kellogg-Briand Treaty means—precisely what Mr. Levinson first conceived a decade ago, and has been devotedly seeking ever since. The Treaty is the fulfillment of his fondest hopes in a space of time far shorter than he, or any one else, had ever dared to dream. The work, of course, as we have repeatedly emphasized, is not completed. "Peace is proclaimed," said Briand; "it still remains necessary to organize it."

But the foundation is now laid broad and deep, and the superstructure will follow.—God be praised!

As though to prove the effectiveness of the Paris Treaty, the "entente" between England and France, announced by the British Foreign Secretary with inconceivable ineptitude on the very eve of the signing of the Outlawry pact, has been thrown into the scrap heap. What this "entente" involved nobody knows. It was thus true to the form of the unregenerate secret diplomacy which concocted it. But all alliances—all "ententes," to quote the Manchester *Guardian* of August 23rd last, "are directed against some one and are preparation for war." This "entente," therefore, was a menace to everything that Kellogg, Briand and their distinguished colleagues were doing in Paris. It was a "cut-back," as sudden as it was direful, to the condition of affairs that preceded and made inevitable the Great War. For what was this latest "entente" between France and Britain but a revival, a resurrection, of the "entente" between these two countries which was the center and soul of the Asquith-Grey diplomacy of pre-war days? We now know that this first "entente" was an instrument of war and not of peace—the one cause of England's plunge into the cataclysm of 1914, and one of the few most direct and decisive causes of the cataclysm itself. Had that "entente" not existed, had England been unbound to the European balance of power, it is something much more than possible that the Great War might have been avoided. And now the English Tories, who, like all Tories, learn nothing, would repeat this adventure! That the proposal came just at the time when Outlawry was to the fore, is the explanation of its defeat. The public opinion aroused and educated by the Outlawry of War idea, simply tore it to bits. "The understanding has crashed," says the New York *World* correspondent, "vetoed by Premier Baldwin in the face of an unprecedented display of hostile feeling in the country." The very public opinion, in other words, upon which Outlawry relies for it effectiveness, has already scored "the greatest triumph," says the *World*, "ever known in England." These are indeed great days for peace!

It has been a whole month since UNITY has been able to comment upon the political campaign. During this period certain things have happened. The controversy between William Allen White and Governor Smith resulted in the discovery that Governor Smith's record is what it *is*—the record of a man who has all his political life served the cause of the liquor interests in fidelity to Tammany Hall. Senator Curtis made his acceptance speech as a vice-presidential candidate for the Republicans, and in so doing double-riveted the "dry" declaration of Mr. Hoover in his presidential acceptance speech. Governor Smith accepted his nomination on the Democratic ticket in an address marked by candor, earnestness, sincerity, a complete ignorance of the war and peace problem, and a direct attack upon Prohibition. Senator Robinson, in his acceptance declaration, said "me, too," to all his running mate had said, and in so doing repudiated with shameless self-stultification the "dry" convictions of a life-time. Meanwhile, independent leaders have been declaring themselves—Senator Blaine, of Wisconsin, for Smith, Senators Nye and Frazier, of North Dakota, for Hoover. "So far as personal declarations go," says the New York *World*, a Smith organ, "the honors are even." Money is rolling in upon both of the old parties. Work and Rascob are manifestly convinced of the truth of the dictum laid down in Frank Kent's new book, "Political Behavior," that in politics "it is the side with the most money that almost always wins"; and the campaign, therefore, promises to be the most lavishly financed in American history. Signs of a bolt against "Al" Smith in the South are becoming impressive. At this writing it is not at all unlikely that, for the first time since the Civil War, the "solid South" will be broken. And Maine, on the 10th, rolled up a smashing Republican majority, full of good promise for Hoover in November.

Out of all the unprecedented confusion of the presidential campaign, one thing is becoming crystal clear, and that is that the issue of the election is Prohibition. For the first time since 1896, the Democratic and Republican parties have found something upon which they can disagree. Even this issue they tried to evade, as witness the almost identical reading of the platforms; but Hoover's "dryness" and especially Smith's "wetness," to say nothing of the sweep of public sentiment, have made the liquor question the inevitable fighting-point of the campaign. Whether the politicians like it or not, November 6th is going to be the great national referendum on Prohibition for which the "wets" have been yelping for so long; and, as ourselves a "dry" who believes that this great moral cause has nothing to fear from a nation-wide "showdown" of public opinion, we welcome this referendum. It will result in such a victory for the 18th Amendment, such an overwhelming rout of the whiskey besodden forces of the Tammanyized Democracy, that the "wets" will disappear, like water poured into sand. Already in these pre-election days, we have had two referendum votes on the liquor question. First, there were the primaries in Missouri, wherein the "dry" candidate for senator on the Republican ticket was elected; and, what is much more significant, the "dry" candidate for senator on the Democratic ticket, Charles M. Hay, who was denounced and derided throughout the state by the sitting senator, "Jim" Reed, for his unconscionable "dryness," was similarly elected. In both parties, in other words, the primaries were fought out on the Pro-

hibition issue, and in both parties the "wets" were snowed under. The same thing happened later in the Ohio primaries, on August 14th last, when, to quote the Boston *Herald,* "the 'wets' were almost annihilated." The Republican "wet" candidate for governor received only 15 per cent of the vote, the other 85 per cent being divided between two "dry" candidates; and the successful candidate for governor on the Democratic ticket, Congressman Davey, is Sahara "dry." The Democratic Party has a positive genius for getting on the wrong side of great moral issues. In 1928 it is on the wrong side of the liquor question, as in 1860 it was on the wrong side of the slavery question. It will learn this fact this next election day!

On October 14th, 1926, a gang of seven men held up a mail truck in broad daylight in Elizabeth, New Jersey, killed the driver, wounded two other men, and escaped with loot amounting in value to $151,700. Arrests were promptly made. Of nine eye-witnesses of the crime, three unhesitatingly identified Edward Purtell, a well-known gangster, as one of the murderers; two identified John J. (Bum) Rogers; and two others identified James Sweeney. This was good evidence—what better than positive identification by eye-witnesses?—and the three men, with one other similarly identified, were quickly indicted for murder in the first degree. Purtell, after lying in jail awaiting trial for eleven months, was suddenly discharged, as it was discovered in the hunt for further evidence that he had nothing to do with the hold-up. Rogers is in Sing Sing "doing time" for another offense, but New Jersey has relinquished all claim upon him, as it has been found that he also had no part in the Elizabeth crime. James Sweeney was tried, convicted, and, on recommendation of the jury for mercy, sentenced to prison for life. Last month, however, on the basis of unimpeachable alibis, and on the confession of the real offenders exonerating him, Sweeney was found innocent, and his name placed before the Court of Pardons for release, by the judge who tried him and the attorney who prosecuted him. This is an interesting case! It is impressive as showing the eagerness of the New Jersey authorities to find out the truth, and not merely secure convictions. It sheds lurid light upon the worth, or worthlessness, of identification evidence. It especially brings to mind a certain famous case in Massachusetts associated with the names of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The retirement last month of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Davidson, was widely noticed in the American press, as was the appointment of his successor, Dr. Lang, the Archbishop of York. Not so much attention has been paid to Dr. Lang's successor, who is the present Bishop of Manchester, Dr. William Temple. The great churchman is a son of a former Archbishop of Canterbury, the immediate predecessor of the retiring Dr. Davidson. His record is one of great personal distinction. Educated at Rugby and at Balliol, he became early a Don at Oxford, and later Head-master of Repton. In the church he won an immediate reputation as a brilliant scholar in theology and philosophy. His ecclesiastical eminence is due to his fine executive ability, broad human sympathies, and tireless devotion to the public weal. Important beyond all other facts, however, and the occasion of this editorial, is the fact that the new Archbishop of York is a member of the British Labor Party! A circumstance of this kind is so inconceivable in this country that it leaves an American fairly breathless with amazement. The idea of an Episcopal bishop, much less an archbishop, being affiliated with a Socialist political organization seems to us as impossible as the idea of water running up hill. It simply is not done, at least in the good old United States! We think of only two bishops who have tried it, both sincere and saintly men, and so far from being translated to loftier positions of eminence and influence, the one bishop was promptly stripped of his diocese and has been ecclesiastically homeless every since, and the other was as promptly tried and convicted for heresy. The difference between William Temple and William Montgomery Brown or Paul Jones is the exact measure of difference between the political civilization of England and America.

The Fascination of the Oversimple

Peter is a dog. It was early morning and he stood with his nose to the wind, catching the news abroad on the breeze. With his nostrils elevated a little above the horizontal, his ears relaxed and his eyes half closed as if to shut out disturbing sensations, his whole attention was concentrated at the foremost tip of him. Ever so slowly he moved his head to the right and left and back again. A perceptible tremor played about his nose and mouth in response to the procession of smells he picked up. Now and again the hair on his neck and shoulders was slightly raised, then flattened down. Quick changes of expression passed over his features—interest, satisfaction, agitation, indifference. Sometimes his tail participated in the report spread through his body. Standing there rooted to the spot he was exploring a world of wide range.

An hour later an automobile stopped where Peter had started his day. Two men stepped out and unloaded a number of boxes. It was the Fourth of

July, and the boxes were filled with packages of firecrackers. For two hours these two good citizens were oblivious of all else. The apple-green of the lake before them, the pale violet horizon, the coot and rail that peeped from the reeds, then scampered away, the kingfisher hovering on beating wings, the indescribable odor of the rain-drenched earth were not for them. Nothing broke through their purpose to make as loud and continuous a noise as their equipment permitted. They spoke of nothing else; they seemingly thought of nothing else. That the occasion was supposed to be symbolic, commemorative of a great national event, even this did not intrude upon their occupation. The noise was an end in itself. And when the last firecracker had been shot off, they took a fleeting, indifferent look around, lighted another cigarette, then drove away, leaving the emptied boxes and a litter of red and grey bits of torn paper scattered over the grass.

It was tempting to draw a comparison between man and brute, to the disadvantage of *homo sapiens*. Human conceit aside, can there be any doubt that Peter's was the richer adventure? In vividness, in variety, in meaningfulness did not the experience of the four-legged animal reach farther and deeper than that of the two-legged? Then why not generalize the instance and argue against man's superiority to the so-called lower animals?

The fallacy of any such oversimplification of the facts is too apparent to need elaboration. Yet just such oversimplification has become popular and of high repute. The contemporary world, in spite of boasted sophistication, is afraid of mystery. If the phenomena of life in their experienced fullness overflow the accepted scheme of explanation, awareness must be reduced to taking in those aspects which the method is capable of dealing with. Everything must be swept up and with one broom. Whatever cannot be thus gathered to our dustpan must be whisked out of sight. And to save our faces, to retain confidence in the results, we posit the ultimate rationality of our procedure; we worship the broom.

A characteristic illustration is the psychology known as "Behaviorism." According to John B. Watson, Inventor and Proprietor, there was really no psychology before about 1912. Up to that time the psychology entrenched in the institutions of learning was pure fiction, turned out by such romancers as James, Wundt, Angell, and Ladd. It was an introspective psychology, based upon inner observation, dealing with sensations, images, perceptions, with mind or mental states. "In one sweeping assumption after another," says Dr. Watson, "the behaviorist threw out the concept both of mind and of consciousness, calling them carryovers from the church dogma of the Middle Ages." Nor did the reform stop there. "You say that you have sensations, perceptions, images," challenged the behaviorist; "then demonstrate them as other sciences demonstrate their facts." Introspective psychology was unable to meet the challenge, so out went sensations, perceptions, images, and every species of mental process. That done, everything was swept together under one concept—objective behavior. Psychology became the study of what men *do*.

Now this makes the whole situation delightfully simple. "Behavorism," as Dr. Watson says, "breaks down the distinction between subjective and objective phenomena. All of the phenomena connected with human beings are objective, even the things you now call 'memory' and 'thinking'!" It also breaks down the distinction between sociology and psychology and, although he does not actually make the claim, between psychology and economics, history, law, even (if one wishes to crowd the doctrine a little) physics, chemistry, engineering, etc. In all of these men *do* things, and psychology is the study of what men *do*. Philosophy he rules out explicitly in these words: "With the behavioristic point of view now becoming dominant, it is hard to find a place for what has been called philosophy. Philosophy is passing—has all but passed, and unless new issues arise which will give a foundation for a new philosophy, the world has seen its last great philosopher." In a word, "The behaviorist does not believe in these old distinctions. *The whole thing is psychology.*"

No doctrine, however, should be crowded to its worst extreme. "Behaviorism," limiting itself to the study of what people do, does not necessarily carry with it the neglect of specific differences between these doings. Nevertheless the particular brand which makes the most noise in the world consistently minimizes or distorts these differences. Naturally! For as soon as differences in behavior are given proper recognition, human behavior ceases to be as simple as the theory requires. That people behave is certainly not a recent nor a modern discovery. And at least a half century ago Peirce argued that concepts not definable in conduct are meaningless. Both James and Dewey had emphasized the behavioristic quality of mental processes before 1912. What separates these men and others like them from Dr. Watson's "Behaviorism" is not anti-behaviorism, but their inability to see human behavior in his oversimple terms. They are in and behind it a great deal more than he cares to admit.

This is not the place to attempt an appraisal of the argument on which the theory of pure behaviorism rests. But the question is no merely academic one, and some of its larger implications are of general interest. Dr. Watson testifies that it is being taught to university students and that "the newspapers are beginning to feed it to the masses." In view of the predilection of these masses, in and out of college, for simple explanations, and because of their repugnance to do the labor necessary for insight into complexities,

this is not necessarily good news. Moreover, the practice of substituting verbalization for thought, already the vogue, will not be discouraged by the spread of the theory that thinking is talking. And the long distance we have gone toward mechanizing daily life will find an authoritative endorsement in the doctrine that the goal of psychological study is the ability to condition human beings from childhood onward to fit the demands of society. Finally, "Behaviorism" is necessarily dumb on social vision, the want of which is conspicuous in contemporary life. "The behaviorist," Dr. Watson believes, "has given society the rough pattern of a new weapon for controlling the individual." And he asks: "Will it use this weapon when perfected as a steam roller to flatten out all that is different in human personalities (which it can do in spite of 'heredity' producing thereby a race of conformists)? Or will it use this method wisely?" He leaves the question unanswered, as he must. The very concept "wisely," involving ideals, is borrowed from another view of things.

In spite of these objections, "Behaviorism" must be accepted if it turns out to be a valid reading of human nature. Is it that? The problem is one which should naturally interest the religious-minded person of liberal temper. Looking into it he may find that no genuine application of scientific method is actually made in this theory which claims the exclusive right to be known as the scientific study of human behavior. The interests of such a person would doubtless be regarded by the behaviorist as "grand old speculative bugaboos about which so many millions of pages have been so fruitlessly written." This pronouncement, however, he need not take as final. He may prefer the attitude of those who, like Socrates, endeavor to appreciate the complexity and elusiveness of the facts of life, though this carries with it the admission of ignorance. If he may not then think himself wise, he may think of himself as a lover of wisdom. And this, in view of the actualities, is after all more fitting.

M. C. Otto.

Travel Letters

III. In Czechoslovakia

In Czechoslovakia and in Austria (which, means particularly Vienna), far more than in any other city visited by the Sherwood Eddy Seminar, government is generally regarded as an instrument to promote the well being of the rank and file of the people, and to protect their rights, rather than as an instrument to secure and protect special privileges and special immunities for *some* folks.

In both Czechoslovakia and Austria, among the masses there is consequently a higher, more intelligent and more rational type of patriotism, I think, than can be found anywhere else in continental Europe.

In both countries socialistic enterprise has been carried farther than anywhere else in the world, and it *works,* it works *well,* and it is fast abolishing poverty for those willing and able to work. For those unable to work on account of age, illness, or accident, or inability to find employment, financial provision is made. In Czechoslovakia there is no unemployment.

In both Czechoslovakia and Austria, of course, a wide field has been left (wisely, I think) for private initiative and enterprise. Not everybody is working for the government, by any means. But all those things which in their nature involve monopoly, are publicly owned. The theory is that private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable, and that their proper regulation by government commissions is impracticable, and impossible; and when undertaken results in political corruption.

In Czechoslovakia the railroads; telegraph and telephone business; the street cars and busses; electricity for light, heat and power; gas, and various other things are publicly owned. All the big landed estates were taken over by the government, a minimum compensation was paid, and they have been sold in small parcels to working farmers. The agricultural people are more prosperous than anywhere else in Europe.

The mines are gradually being brought under public ownership. A system of compulsory bonuses has been established, under which the workers share in the profits of mining.

The city of Prague has a municipally owned restaurant, the largest in the city.

In Vienna, socialistic enterprise has been somewhat hampered by the federal government, but all public utilities are under municipal ownership.

Of the 120 members of the Vienna city government 78 are socialists. The socialists have been in control since 1919. They have established municipal canals, water works, carriage works, baths, cemeteries, building material works, bakeries, a brewery, an advertising agency and a funeral service.

Municipal taxes are levied on ability to pay. The city has become a shareholder in a number of large industrial undertakings. Extensive social welfare work is carried on. The Hapsburg castle, Wilhelminenberg, has been fitted up as a municipal children's home, public health and education receive great attention, 60,000 municipal dwellings have been erected since 1919.

The Eddy party drove for three hours through the sections of Vienna where the poorer people live. We saw no slums. We saw big buildings of concrete, with foundations in front of them, with playgrounds near, and which contained small apartments which are rented for ($1.50) one dollar and fifty cents a month. There are 600,000 tenants in Vienna all of whom are taxed $1.50 a year for the housing fund.

In the neighborhoods of the municipal apartment houses are kindergartens, bathhouses, and electrically equipped lawndries, all city owned.

While in the United States the Catholic church is

hostile to socialism, it is just the other way in Vienna. Many of the socialist leaders are Catholics. The Socialist party supports the church. In Austria 89 per cent of the people are Catholic, and only four per cent Protestant. There are three leading parties in Austria, the Social Democrats, who are socialists, the Christian Socialists, who are catholic and socialistic, and the Nationalists, who are conservative and reactionary.

Social, economic and political conditions in Austria and Vienna as I have sketched them have been gleaned from addresses before the Eddy pilgrims by Dr. Fritz Rager, Secretary of the Chamber of Labor, Miss Emma Cadbury of the Society of Friends, Rev. E. Scholz of the Methodist Church, and Dr. Paul L. Dengler, Director of the Austro-American Institute of Education in Vienna.

They did not tell us about the Free Thinkers' Movement, which I heard has 200,000 adherents and which says to both Catholics and Protestants, a plague on both your houses.

I asked Dr. Rager how he accounted for Vienna being the leading socialist city in the world. He said it was due to the trade union movement, which had been under wise leadership, which not only appreciated the importance of united action to improve working conditions and wages, but also appreciated the greater importance of political action to bring about a better social order.

CHESTER C. PLATT.

Prague, Czechoslovakia.

The Kellogg Treaty and the Outlawry of War

[UNITY takes pride in presenting to its readers this statement on the character and significance of the Kellogg Treaty, recently signed, by the man who is destined to be remembered as the "Father of Outlawry." This statement shows at once the origin of the Treaty, its exact importance at the present moment, and its promise for the future. We believe this statement will be remembered and preserved as an authoritative utterance at an epochal time.—Editor.]

August 27th is about to become the World's great holiday. Not even Christmas, unrecognized by hundreds of millions, can compete with it in universality of appeal and application. Indeed, it is highly probable that the Peace Treaty will divide history into two parts —the reign of war, and the reign of peace. For the Briand-Kellogg Treaty (whatever its future appellation) sounds the death-knell of war as an institution, as a method of settling international disputes. The peoples of the earth for centuries have been at the mercy of the war system, impotent to cope with the Frankenstein of their own creation. For war demands all, takes all, destroys all. Modern war having become so destructive and uncontrollable, civilization has at last determined to get rid of the monster.

The idea of abolishing war by outlawing it, which is the gist of the treaty, is fundamentally American in its origin. Its earliest seeds are to be found in the marvelous debates of our Constitutional Convention of 1787, where it was necessary to consider the relationship between and among the thirteen sovereign Colonies and their relationship with the sovereign Federal Government.

The next great evolutionary development of the idea is to be found in the three powerful addresses on war by the brilliant statesman and orator of Massachusetts, Charles Sumner. But his Resolution, offered while Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate in 1872, fell far short of Outlawry. Sumner proposed that arbitration be made *coextensive* with war in the settlement of controversies between nations. This is impossible, for war tolerates no rivals, recognizes no equals. When war, the protagonist, takes the stage, the tritagonists take to the exits. Arbitration can only thrive and become really effective when the monster war is killed, not scotched.

The theory of arbitration, however, continued to be exploited as the remedy for war, culminating in the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907. But the World War came and mocked the staying power of arbitration. We have our numerous arbitration treaties, as have the other nations, many of which have been renewed the current year. The Treaty about to be signed, however, is clearly distinguishable from an arbitration treaty. The present Treaty commits the nations against the use of force in international controversies and thereby binds the nations not to fight even over a dispute that they will not arbitrate. It does not follow because you will not arbitrate that you must kill.

On March 9, 1918, I published my first article (in the *New Republic)* on "The Legal Status of War," which was, I believe, the beginning of the campaign for the outlawing of war. On February 13, 1923, Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, offered his historic Resolution to Outlaw War in the Senate. This proceeding marked the entrance of Outlawry into the political field and at once made Borah the leading and powerful champion of the Outlawry Peace Movement.

The Briand-Kellogg Treaty is simple, fundamental, thoroughgoing and understandable. It provides that the nations signing the Treaty will never engage in war with each other over any dispute. Nothing of the kind has ever happened before in the history of the world. The Treaty is also to remain open for the signatures of other nations, as it was signed on August 27th by only fifteen nations—the charter members of Peace. When the other nations sign, automatically the outlawry of war will become international law and by the same token the control of the exiled institution of war, or perhaps better stated, the return of the exile, will be absolutely in the hands of the people themselves. No more ultimatums, no more rumors of war, no more swashbuckling threats of war —in short war can't get started again unless the people so will it.

Attempts have been made in certain quarters, no-

tably scholastic and militaristic, to befuddle the minds of the people by subleties, by imaginary and almost inconceivable contingencies in the future, and by interpretations ascribing bad faith to certain unnamed nations. These and other objections and obstacles to the Treaty will disappear like chaff before the wind, or more aptly, will be mere brooms attempting to stem the tide of international public opinion.

Thus the great day is about to dawn, for I am one who believes in the good faith of the civilized peoples of every country. I further believe that ninety-five per cent of the decent people of the world want to get rid of war and will not allow their governments "to make a promise to the ear and break it to the hope." The Treaty that outlaws war will indeed make the world safe for democracy. All honor and gratitude to President Coolidge, Secretary Kellogg and Senator Borah.

S. O. Levinson.

College Medicine-Men

In the September number of Harper's Magazine is an article by William Bennett Munro of Harvard University on the subject, "Quack-Doctoring the Colleges." Although written in a taunting vain this article is well worth pondering.

Truly there are a number of persons engaged in the educational process, as in other pursuits, who are too quick to proclaim the universal panacea. Many of the newer ideas are of doubtful value; but it may be said with confidence that whatever the short-comings of the educational reformers, they have definitely demonstrated the incompetency of the college "medicine-man." And that is no small gain; because for every quack among the educational reformers there are at least ten thousand "medicine-men" still brewing the roots of the ancient trees of knowledge long after the limbs and trunks have been torn asunder by the cumulative winds of modern information.

Moreover, how does progress come in any field if not by experimenting? Fortunately we have a number of experiments going on under competent leadership, as at Antioch, Reed, and Madison. There is always room in the wide stretches between the quack on the one hand, and the "medicine-man" on the other, for experiments in methods, in objectives, in content, and in ways of earning a living while going to school. Let the experiments continue.

But this is all secondary. The true reason why the newer methods in education are frowned upon is that the old line professors really believe that intellectuality is one thing and practicality another; that mentality and materiality are poles apart, that the spiritual and the physical are at war. Now, as a matter of fact, nature knows no such distinction as this dualism indicates. All the phases of being over-lap and interpenetrate. Life is one. Nor is it an adequate definition to say that "education is preparation for life." Education is life. So far as feasible, the educational processes should involve the basic aspects of life. I mean that an educational program should aim not merely to fit people for life but actually to involve them in life while engaged in special studies.

Prof. Munro rightly stresses the importance of the teaching personnel. But here again the old dualism shows up. The choice is not between vital personality without technique, on the one hand, and on the other technique without personality. Vital personality and skill in technique enhance each other and have no objection to dwelling within the same breast. Despite the magnetic personality of the "medicine-man," he was a failure as a microbe hunter.

The college community is engaged in the enterprise of discovering and developing the aptitudes and qualities that make for personal and social well-being. Excellence of life is the aim of the educational process. To this end the disciplines of both the natural and the social sciences are directed. And the unique needs of the individual student should take precedence over formal requirements. Athletics, physical training and craft accomplishments are valid parts of education. The old line of sharp demarcation between the physical and the mental disciplines is fading out. Physical skill and rhythm react favorably on intellectual quests; and the knowledge of what has been bears fruit in the doing of what should be. The educational process should elicit and develop the sense of honor and the love of nobility. And whatever, after free and full experimentation, is found to lend itself to this end, is valid in the field of education.

Curtis W. Reese.

Hymn For the Pact of Peace

[Inscribed to Minister Briand and Secretary Kellogg]

Lift up your heads, ye peoples,
The miracle has come.
No longer are ye helpless,
No longer are ye dumb.

Those whom ye craved to lead you,
Your path of yearning dare,
The few rejoice with feasting,
The millions praise with prayer.

Lift up your hearts, ye peoples,
Cheer every doubting soul,
That found the road a barrier
Betwixt you and your goal.

Go say to him that feareth
That peace is but a wraith,
"Not rulers, but the people
Shall seal the peoples' faith."

Lift up your hands, ye peoples
And take the sacred vow,
"To war's age-honored Moloch,
No longer will we bow."

Your leaders who have followed,
Arise and follow them,
Oh, hear ye not the angels
Singing of Bethlehem!

—Robert Underwood Johnson.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyright, 1928)

PART IV—CHAPTER XLVII

How a Client Was Saved

The reader by now will be quite familiar with Parsi Rustomji's name. He was one who became at once my client and co-worker, or perhaps it would be truer to say that he first became co-worker and then client. I won his confidence to such an extent that he sought and followed my advice also in private domestic matters. Even when he was ill, he would seek my aid and though there was much difference between our ways of living, he did not hesitate to accept my quack treatment.

This friend once got into a very bad scrape. Though he kept me informed of most of his affairs, he had studiously kept back one thing. He was a large importer of goods from Bombay and Calcutta and it turned out that not infrequently he resorted to smuggling. But as he was on the best terms with customs officials no one was inclined to suspect him. In charging duty, they used to take his invoices on trust. Some may even have connived at the smuggling.

But to use the telling simile of the Gujarati poet Akho, theft like quicksilver won't be suppressed, and Parsi Rustomji's proved no exception. The good friend ran post haste to me, the tears rolling down his cheeks as he said:

> Bhai, I have deceived you. My guilt has been discovered today. I have smuggled and I am doomed. I must go to jail and be ruined. You alone may be able to save me from this predicament. I have kept back nothing else from you, but I had thought I ought not to bother you with such tricks of the trade and so I had never told you about this smuggling. But now, how much I repent it!

I calmed him and said: "To save or not to save you is in His hands. As to me you know my way; I can but try to save you by means of confession."

The good Parsi felt deeply mortified.

"But is not my confession before you enough?" he asked.

"You have wronged not me but Government. How will the confession made before me avail you?" I replied gently.

"Of course I will do just as you advise, but will you not consult with my old counsel Mr. ——? He is a friend too," said Parsi Rustomji.

Inquiry revealed that the smuggling had been going on for a long time, but the actual offence detected involved a trifling sum. We went to his counsel. He perused the papers, and said: "The case will be tried by jury, and a Natal jury will be the last to acquit an Indian. But I will not give up hope."

I did not know this counsel intimately. Parsi Rustomji intercepted: "I thank you, but I should like to be guided by Mr. Gandhi's advice in this case. He knows me intimately. Of course you will advise him whenever necessary."

Having thus shelved the counsel's question, we went to Parsi Rustomji's shop.

And now explaining my view I said to him: "I don't think this case should be taken to court at all. It rests with the Customs Officer to prosecute you or to let you go, and he in turn will have to be guided by the Attorney General. I am prepared to meet both. I propose that you should offer to pay the penalty they fix, and the odds are that they will be agreeable. But if they are not, you must be prepared to go to jail. I am of opinion that the shame lies not so much in going to jail as in committing the offence. The deed of shame has already been done. Imprisonment you should regard as a penance. The real penance lies in resolving never to smuggle again."

I cannot say that Parsi Rustomji took all this quite well. He was a brave man, but his courage had failed him for the moment. His name and fame were at stake and where would he be if the edifice he had reared with such care and labor should go to pieces?

"Well, I have told you," he said, "that I am entirely in your hands. You may do just as you like."

I brought to bear on this case all my powers of persuasion. I met the Customs Officer and fearlessly apprised him of the whole affair. I also promised to place all the books at his disposal and told him how penitent Parsi Rustomji was feeling.

The Customs Officer said: "I like the old Parsi. I am sorry he has made a fool of himself. You know where my duty lies. I must be guided by the Attorney General and so I would advise you to use all your persuasion with him."

"I should be thankful," said I, "if you do not insist on dragging him into court."

Having got him to promise this, I entered into correspondence with the Attorney General whom I also met. I am glad to say that he appreciated my utter frankness and was convinced that I had kept back nothing.

I now forget whether it was in connection with this or with some other case, my persistence and frankness extorted from him the remark: "I see you will never take a no for an answer."

The case against Parsi Rustomji was compromised. He was to pay a penalty equal to twice the amount he had confessed to having smuggled. Rustomji reduced to writing the facts of the whole case, got the paper framed and hung it up in his office to serve as a perpetual reminder to his heirs and fellow merchants.

These friends of Rustomji warned me not to be taken in by this transitory contrition. When I told Rustomji about this warning he said: "What would be my fate if I deceived you?"

PART V—CHAPTER I

The First Experience

Before I reached home, the party which had started from Phoenix had already arrived. According to our original plan I was to have preceded them, but my preoccupation in England with the War had upset all our calculations, and when I saw that I had to be detained in England indefinitely I was faced with the question of finding a place for accommodating the Phoenix party. I wanted them all to stay together in India, if possible, and to live the life they had led at Phoenix. I did not know of any Ashram where I

could recommend them to go, and therefore I cabled to them to meet Mr. Andrews and do as he advised.

So they were first put in the Gurukul, Kangri, where the late Swami Shraddhanandji treated them as his own children. After this they were put in the Shantiniketan Ashram where the Poet and his people showered the same love upon them. The experiences they gathered at both these places served them and me in good stead.

The Poet, Shraddhanandji and Principal Sushil Rudra, as I used to say to Andrews, composed his trinity. When in South Africa he was never tired of speaking of them, and of the many sweet memories of South Africa, Mr. Andrews' talks, day in and day out, of this great trinity, are amongst the sweetest and most vivid. Mr. Andrews therefore put the Phoenix party in touch also with Sushil Rudra. Principal Rudra had no Ashram, but he had a home which he placed completely at the disposal of the Phoenix family. Within a day of their arrival, his people made them feel so thoroughly at home that they did not seem to miss Phoenix at all.

It was only when I landed in Bombay that I learnt that the Phoenix party was at Shantiniketan. I was therefore impatient to meet them as soon as I could after my meeting with Gokhale.

The receptions in Bombay gave me an occasion for offering what might be called a little Satyagraha.

At the party given in my honor at Mr. Jehangir Petit's place I did not dare to speak in Gujarati. In those palatial surroundings of dazzling splendor I, who had lived my best life among indentured laborers, felt myself a complete rustic. With my Kathiawadi cloak, turban and dhoti, I looked somewhat more civilized than I do today, but the pomp and splendor of Mr. Petit's mansion made me feel absolutely out of my element. However I acquitted myself tolerably well, having taken shelter under Sir Phirozeshah's protecting wing.

Then there was the Gujarati function. The Gujaratis would not let me go without a reception, which was organized by the late Uttamlal Trivedi. I had acquainted myself with the program beforehand. Mr. Jinnah was present, being a Gujarati, I forget whether as president or as the principal speaker. He made a short and sweet little speech in English. As far as I remember most of the other speeches were also in English. When my turn came, I expressed my thanks in Gujarati, explaining my partiality for Gujarati and Hindustani, and entering my humble protest against the use of English in a Gujarati gathering. This I did, not without some hesitation, for I was afraid lest it should be considered discourteous for an inexperienced man, returned home after a long exile, to enter his protest against established practices. But no one seemed to misunderstand my insistence on replying in Gujarati. In fact I was glad to note that every one seemed reconciled to my protest.

The meeting thus emboldened me to think that I should not find it difficult to place my new-fangled notions before my countrymen.

After a brief stay in Bombay full of these preliminary experiences, I went to Poona where Gokhale had summoned me.

M. K. GANDHI.

(Translated from *Navajivan* by Mahadeo Desai)

The Study Table

Two Intelligent Women Discuss Bernard Shaw

I

Bernard Shaw in his "last will and testament"* (which descriptive we reserve the privilege of doubting) has made enemies, but since he has become accustomed to doing this, he will probably sleep soundly while some of our sisters wail that he has insulted womanhood by implying that there are some things that she does not know. However there are some intelligent women who will welcome instruction, who are willing to admit that they know very little of the things that are discussed in this book. The difficulty with books on these subjects is, as Mr. Shaw says, that they are almost invariably written for the specialist in economics and sociology. The majority of women (and perhaps men) are not trained readers or specialists, though they may be intelligent readers, and perhaps one of the best signs of that intelligence may be found, first of all, in admitting ignorance and then in gratefully accepting the help that is offered.

One grows somewhat amused, it is true, at such a statement as, "I never met an American who knew anything about America except the bits she has actually set her eyes on or felt with her boots." I say one grows amused at such a statement until one remembers that it is Mr. Shaw who is writing and that Mr. Shaw likes to say things like that. It may be suspected that with all his wisdom even Mr. Shaw may have missed a few unimportant things about our country. But we will not allow even Mr. Shaw to disparage his book by either his wit or his egotism, and we refuse to be insulted. An enemy might say things like that and we would, indeed, go after him "with a gun," but we allow greater privileges to our friends. We shall probably continue to believe that Mr. Shaw is fallible but we will hear what he says.

We are introduced at the very beginning to one of the evidences of Mr. Shaw's friendship, namely, the invitation to do our own thinking. That at least sounds like a compliment and we like to be complimented. We do not like to admit it, but the actual thinking *for ourselves* which we have done is rather neglible. Of course, we have a very good excuse. We have been so greatly interested in our homes, our husbands, our children, that we have had little time to think of such matters as Mr. Shaw now suggests to us. We have been so busy working not eight hours a day or ten hours a day but fifteen hours a day that we have not been thinking about ourselves. It is most interesting to find a man who invites us to do that. He really wants us to think. He is a gentleman of a new school. He values woman's mind enough to suggest that it is not only possible for her to think, but he believes that she ought to do so.

And what does Mr. Shaw invite us to think about? Does he ask us to think about the fashions, or menus,

*"The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism," by Bernard Shaw. Published by Brentano. $5.

or the control of children? No, not at all! He asks us to think about ways and means of climbing out of our plight. We have always felt that we were in rather an unfortunate plight. And that plight has presented itself to our minds in this way: we have been engaged in the struggle of trying to stretch an income to cover the necessary family expenses and leave a little over so that the children may have an occasional night at the movies even if we and friend husband must remain at home. We have wanted, oh, so very much, to purchase that gown at the Wanamaker cut-price department, or to buy that new book (perhaps the "Guide to Socialism and Capitalism"), but we have denied ourselves the gown and we have rented the book so that the children may have the movies and friend husband his necessary tobacco. That has been our plight. And now a man invites us to *think* about it. He is not asking us to think whether Hoover or Smith will make a good president or whether Rockefeller and Carnegie have not done a great deal of good though their philanthropy. He wants us to think about a few simple things, and to help us he writes simply and sometimes charmingly about those things.

An important contribution of the book is its clarity of definition, indeed, one might say that this is a book of definitions. We have looked upon Socialism as a sort of foul miasma that threatens to drag us under unless we "vote right," that is, unless we support one of the Grand Old Parties. We have been told that it is a very beautiful dream, a Utopia, quite delightful to contemplate but impossible to realize. Mr. Shaw brings it all up out of the mud and down out of the skies and shows us that we already have Socialism in part and that what we may do, if we are intelligent enough, is to extend it to the other parts of our governmental machinery. In other words, Mr. Shaw has drawn the fangs of Socialism, or rather, he has shown us that the fangs are not there, that they exist only in the fertile imagination of those who would blind us to the faults and absurdities of our present social order.

The second part of the book, that which deals with Capitalism—which Mr. Shaw prefers to call Proletarianism—is the more amazing part. We have been living in the midst of Capitalism but we have known surprisingly little of our environment. Mr. Shaw shows us the absurdities of Capitalism with merciless analysis. He asks us to use our intelligence in recognizing them for what they are; and he suggests a way out. The way she chooses may not be the way Mr. Shaw suggests. However, if the *Guide to Socialism* fails to convince her of the necessity of Socialism but convinces her that these problems must be intelligently faced by woman as well as by man, Mr. Shaw will have done her and her husband an invaluable service.

Frankly, we do not know whether Mr. Shaw's system will work, but he convinces us that Capitalism does work and that it works us. Of one thing we are sure. If the intelligent woman reads this book she will become more dissatisfied with the present system, and that dissatisfaction will enable her to leave *her* last will and testament. She may have some doubt as to whether the transition from the present order to the new order will come in time to benefit her, but she will so instruct her children that they may perhaps enjoy a fuller and better life. Perhaps in doing that she may prove her right to be called an intelligent woman.

BLANCHE W. DARNELL.

II

The publishers tell us on the cover page of Bernard Shaw's new book, that Mr. Shaw says, "It has been more difficult to write than all my plays."

One can well believe it! Mr. Shaw's plays are charming and able pieces of writing, but the present work is such a mass of confused and muddled thinking that one's head is in a whirl before one has even finished the preface. One is tempted to paraphrase the statement of Count Oxenstierna, the great Swedish Statesman, "My son, thou wouldst be astonished if thou knewest with how little sense the world is governed" by saying to the "Intelligent Woman," in whom Bernard Shaw is so interested, "My daughter, thou wouldst be astonished if thou knewest with how little sense Bernard Shaw is governed." No one will deny that this book is a brilliant and amusing piece of writing. But if it is widely read and its teachings accepted, the result will be that the coming generation will find itself further from freedom and "equality of income" than it is at the present time.

Kropotkin once pointed out that "It is time to admit, once and for all, this political axiom that a government cannot be revolutionary." Yet Mr. Shaw shows an utter failure to understand this truth. He urges the "intelligent woman" to cast off the Capitalist system of society only to throw herself into the strangling grip of the Socialist State which is nothing else but a leap from the frying pan into the fire.

One reads with interest that forty-five years ago Mr. Shaw was exposed for forty-five minutes to the oratory of Henry George, and

> though George impressed his generation with the outrageous misdistribution of income resulting from the apparently innocent institution of private property in land, he left untouched the positive problem of how else income was to be distributed, and what the nation was to do with the rent of its land when it was nationalized.

The forty-five minutes of Henry George's oratory evidently went in one of Mr. Shaw's ears and out the other, with such rapidity, that it skipped over his brain altogether. Mr. Shaw apparently has never read Henry George's book "Progress and Poverty." In it is found not only an explanation as to what the nation would do with the rent of land, but also a very clear statement showing that Mr. George never advocated, nor even suggested, the advisability of nationalization.

On page 126 of his book Mr. Shaw makes one think, for a moment, that he accepts Henry George's theory, as he writes,

> All rents should be paid into a common stock and used for public purposes. If that had been done there need have been no slums, no ugly mean streets and buildings, nor indeed any rates or taxes: everybody would benefit by the rent; everybody would have to contribute to it by work; and no idler would be able to live on the labor of others.

Then, on the next page we rub our eyes with amazement for here we find the incredible statement that "The Single Taxers are not wrong in principle; but they are behind the times."

A recent writer has shown that the Single Tax, "L'impôt Unique," was developed by the Physiocrats.

> They did not launch a theory; they did not formulate a mere body of opinion. Far from it; they discovered a formula in economics, just as Newton did in physics. . . . The single tax, then, is a tax upon the site value of land; not upon its use value or its superficial content. All other forms of taxation, direct or indirect, are abolished. There is no tax upon industry, or the products of industry, i. e., upon wealth, or, specifically, upon that portion of wealth which is used to fa-

cilitate the production of more wealth, i. e., capital; or, again specifically, upon labor. There is no tax of any kind upon enterprise. Among the results of the operation of the single tax are the following: An immense stimulation of industry and commerce; An automatic and permanent resolution of the relations between labor and capital; An automatic and permanent regulation of credit. What is credit? It is a device for facilitating the exchange of wealth. But where does all wealth come but from the land, produced therefrom by the common enterprise of labor and capital. Hence if the source of wealth be freed from monopoly—control, and the exchange of wealth be freed likewise, any device or convenience for facilitating this exchange could not possibly be improperly controlled.

"How about it Mr. Shaw? Do you consider such doctrine as this 'Behind the times'?"

When Mr. Shaw writes that he is "finishing Henry George's job" his attention might be called to the fact that Henry George not only finished his own job when he finished, "Progress and Poverty" but he finished at the same time, once and for all, the Socialists as well. Unfortunately they are not sufficiently intelligent as yet to realize this.

Let any "intelligent woman" read Mr. Shaw's book and then let her turn to Henry George's great work "Progress and Poverty." What would her judgment be? Would she advise her fellow human beings to accept the teachings of Socialism based on innumerable laws and restrictions, such as Mr. Shaw describes the Socialist State to be, when he writes "You would be forcibly fed, clothed, lodged, taught, and employed whether you like it or not," or would she advise them to follow Henry George's philosophy based on the simple but fundamental principles

That all men have equal rights to the use and enjoyment of the elements provided by nature. That each man has an exclusive right to the use and enjoyment of what is produced by his own labor.

This truth once established would mean that all monopolies, taxes and tariffs would disappear and with them would go the Political State with its swarm of greedy officials. In its place would spring up the Co-operative Commonwealth, where the liberty of each would be limited only by the equal liberty of all. Its source of revenue would be the economic rent of land which would be collected by the Community and would be ample for all purposes.

Henry George teaches us that

Social reform is not to be secured by noise and shouting, by complaints and denunciation, by the formation of parties or the making of revolutions, but by the awakening of thought and the progress of ideas. Until there be correct thought there cannot be right action, and when there is correct thought right action will follow.

One finds as many "isms" in Mr. Shaw's book as there are different pickles in the jars labelled "57 varieties," but as to the correct thought to which Henry George refers, it simply is not there!

The one statement in "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism" in which one finds oneself in complete accord is when Mr. Shaw writes "This book is so long that I can hardly think that any woman will want to read much more about Socialism and Capitalism for some time." We agree.

REBECCA WINSOR EVANS.

Falsehood in War-Time

Between two and three years ago a book by Arthur Ponsonby, M. P., entitled "Now Is the Time," was published in London, which placed the author at once in the front rank of those who were striving to rid the world of the curse and crime of war.

Since that time Mr. Ponsonby has been carrying on a campaign for a Peace Pledge known as the "Peace Letter to the Prime Minister" which was one of the chief factors in producing the "Peace Panic" in England, a condition designated by a leading English journalist as "unprecedented."

And now this eminent and renowned statesman makes another invaluable contribution to the literature of the peace movement in a book* entitled "Falsehood in War-Time," which is destined to become as widely known as "Now Is the Time," and perhaps even more so since its subject matter holds such unusual interest for the popular mind.

As the title indicates, the book deals with one special phase of the vast and complex problem of war; and it would be difficult to find a person better qualified to deal with any phase of that great problem than Mr. Ponsonby. This book is universal in its appeal. How could it be otherwise when it deals with a matter affecting profoundly and evilly the lives of every class of society? The Introduction is a scathing indictment of the methods used by governments to arouse people to the frenzy necessary to make them willing to support warfare. Separate chapters deal with various sorts of falsehoods employed to deceive the uninformed, to trap the unsuspecting and to inflame the passions of all.

One chapter deals with hypocrisy of government procedures in the denials by high officials in the English government of the secret agreements which existed with France before the War. Succeeding chapters take up, one by one, the various atrocity stories, so widely circulated, which served to create a condition of hysteria, or near hysteria, among the populace in each of the allied nations. This was exactly what was wished, and that these stories were all inventions mattered not so the desired end was gained. Evidence is overpowering that, in this age, war could not be carried on without resort to deception deliberately and carefully planned and maneuvered.

The book cannot fail to find its way into the homes of rich and poor, intellectuals and the less educated. It cannot fail to leave an ineradicable impression upon the mind of every reader.

It is hardly possible to believe that any person, however previously prejudiced, could read this book and not become a thorough convert to the "No More War" movement. As widely as it is in the power of man to do should be broadcast these outrages upon the confidence of people by their governments.

As the author says at the close of the Introduction:

There are some who object to war because of its immorality, there are some who shrink from the arbitrament of arms because of its increased cruelty and barbarity; there are a growing number who protest against this method, at the outset known to be unsuccessful, of attempting to settle international disputes because of its imbecility and futility. But there is not a living soul in any country who does not deeply resent having his passions roused, his indignation inflamed, his patriotism exploited, and his highest ideals desecrated by concealment, subterfuge, fraud, falsehood, trickery, and deliberate lying on the part of those in whom he is taught to repose confidence and to whom he is enjoined to pay respect.

None of the heroes prepared for suffering and sacrifice, none of the common herd ready for service and obedience, will be inclined to listen to the call of their country once they discover the polluted sources whence that call proceeds and recognize the monstrous finger of falsehood which beckons them to the battlefield.

LYDIA WENTWORTH.

"Falsehood in War Time," by Arthur Ponsonby, M. P. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, England.

Correspondence

Mr. Levinson, and Others

Editor of UNITY:

I quite agree with you as to the desirability of granting the Nobel Peace Prize to Salmon O. Levinson, and that in preference to any of the men mentioned in the Chicago *Evening Post.*

The first use of the term "outlawry of war," so far as I know, dates from Herbert Spencer, and a considerable number of those who have worked for peace have received the same idea, though a little afraid of the word "outlawry." From the first reading of Mr. Levinson's letter I have been fully in sympathy with his point of view.

Mr. Gerig's forceful sarcasm* is not quite new in the history of religious toleration. Through the Inquisition in Portugal and perhaps Spain also, it was decided to kill everybody charged, whether guilty or not. It would be so easy to lie out of it if really guilty, and if not guilty they all looked to the Lord to pick out his own. Thus the "timid friends of God" as Leonardo called them, could save a good deal of doubt and trouble by passing the responsibility to a higher authority.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

Extract from a Personal Letter

. . . You doubtless read of the air-raids in London that occurred while I was there; tests of the air ministry in regard to defense on air raids. It's been a good thing. Europe is scared to death now. They couldn't defend London and the government suggests underground gas-proof chambers for the population.† First attack is recognized as the only possible defense, but that doesn't appeal a deuce of a lot to the people and they are all scared silly. English and French papers are screaming pacifism at all costs, and from translations of other papers in languages I cannot read they all feel the same way about it. You probably don't get any of the comment on it, just the facts. It was almost a hysteria in London for a few days, the papers talked it up, and they couldn't think of a way out except not to fight, and being pacifists they have all joined in the European sport of the last few days which is, kissing Kellogg's big toe. He arrived at an opportune time. His reception has been good, the idea has taken on that it's at least good to outlaw war anyway, in spite of loop-holes. Kellogg's speeches are excellent and he takes a good picture. The comment is all to the effect that it will not get far. They all support it except the Communists. I don't know just why they are griped, but they switched the hour of Kellogg's arrival in Paris to prevent a possible communistic demonstration. I don't quite see the point of all the academic debate on the matter of just what it prevents. If one state breaks over we'll all have to hop in, or at least these over here will, and by the time they can decide whether the first one was wrong, most of the people will be dead. So the best bet is to forget the loop-holes and trust in luck. Incidentally, the arguments on the Locarno loop-holes all forget that those pacts pass out when the Council of the League declares them unnecessary which may be at any time. Kellogg attributes the first idea to Briand over here. It is a shame he didn't include Mr. Levinson. It would have been a gallant recognition. Mr. Levinson is recognized by professors though, I believe. . . .

Paris DAN T. SMITH.

For a Religion of Reason and Good Works

Editor of UNITY:

A friend has sent me excerpts from the June 18 UNITY, and I wish to commend your article on the dropping of the Pope's cross by Nobile's polar explorers. Your remarks are most fitting and I hope will do much to influence thinking on the whole subject of God's paternalism and our religious responsibilities.

I am not an Atheist, but a regular church attendant, and a former Sunday School teacher. Yet I find it increasingly difficult, as I grow older, to reconcile the laws of Nature with the laws of God as interpreted by the Church. I believe that the laws of Nature and the laws of God are one and the same, but man in his fear of the Unknown, and dense ignorance, has not yet discovered it.

I choose to believe that an Almighty Power has so ordered the Universe that if we keep in tune with its laws (as far as experience and reason allow us to know them) we will live happy and effectual lives.

At a time when man differed from animal in that he walked on his hind legs and practiced wholesale cruelty, a few far seeing patriarchs and tribal heads formulated taboos and laws. They were designed to keep the animal instincts under control, and their whip was the awful power of the Unknown, wielded over ignorant minds. As an invention which allowed a few intelligent minds to hold in submission the ignorant masses, it was, and still is, a most effectual plan. Perhaps it was a good thing in its time, for it kept political control in the hands of those most capable of administering it.

But today, thousands of years later, in spite of progress in things politic, economic, scientific, and social, we have (with only slight changes) these same taboos. Rusty with time, they still hold an almost hypnotic influence over their worshippers, and people, intelligent otherwise, bow down the lower for their age.

It is bound to be a gradual process, this replacing of superstition with clear, unafraid thinking, based on proven facts of life, but it is unmistakably on the way.

There is an organization, with headquarters in Detroit, known as the Pathfinders of America, which has gained entry into the public schools of that and a few other cities. It endeavors to supplement the purely academic work with a program of character building, which has no religious axe to grind, but only the welfare of the individual.

So successful have these courses been, that educators from all over the world have inquired into the work; and a very significant fact to me is that ministers are deserting their creeds and their churches to fall in line as Pathfinder teachers, voluntarily, and without church support. It has no rule but the Golden Rule, and there are no "don'ts" in its philosophy. It is so simple and so basic, that the wonder is that it was not expressed and taught years ago. Assuming that character can be taught just like English, it begins by controlling the individual's thought, teaches the development of right habits and desires, and shows the folly of digressing from the line of right thinking and living. It puts it all on the purely selfish, but highly effectual plane of "reaping what you sow." It makes of virtue a sufficient reward.

This letter was to have been an expression of appreciation for your editorial, so you must pardon the digression. Yet I believe you will be glad to know that someone is on the right track, and that the germs are being planted where they will do the most good—in the fertile and fearless soil of young minds.

Organized Religion has been for so long the Prime Minister of Ignorance that we sometimes wonder if he will ever be deposed. But some day reason will take the throne, and thought will rule the world. Then we can sing "The king is dead; long live the king."

L. R. BABCOCK.

Los Angeles, California

An International Holiday

I.

Editor of UNITY:

My hat off to you! Your editorial "An International Holiday"—is a masterpiece and is worth framing.

New York City MARK H. DIX

II.

Editor of UNITY:

Yesterday I read your article entitled "An International Holiday," in the issue of August 13th. This is a most interesting paper, and I firmly believe that we shall have the proposed World Holiday of Peace.

WALTER C. GOLD.

Philadelphia, Penn.

Errata

In the Tolstoy number or UNITY, in the editorial and in the book-review by Mr. Holmes substitute "did not" for "didn't" in every case.—EDITOR.

*See article in UNITY, August 13th, page 369.—Ed.
†Recommended at an International Red Cross Convention.

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

THE OUTLAWRY TREATY AND ITS MEANING

[As a matter of solemn and inspring record, we print herewith in the columns of our paper, UNITY, which first among the publications of this country espoused the Outlawry of War as conceived by S. O. Levinson, the text of the Treaty signed at Paris on August 27th last, and also the concluding portion of the address made by Aristide Briand on the occasion which he well said "marks a new date in history making." An editorial on this subject will be found on the opening page of this issue.—Editors.]

The text of the treaty against war signed in Paris on August 27, 1928:

Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind;

Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated;

Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty;

Hopeful that, encouraged by their example, all the other nations of the world will join in this humane endeavor and by adhering to the present treaty as soon as it comes into force bring their peoples within the scope of its beneficent provisions, thus uniting the civilized nations of the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy;

The signatories of the treaty who, having communicated to one another their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article 1

The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

Article 2

The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

Article 3

The present treaty shall be ratified by the high contracting parties in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements.

This treaty shall when it has come into effect remain open as long as may be necessary for adherence by all the other powers of the world.

The Address of M. Briand (in part)

It may now be appropriate to explain what is finally the essential feature of this pact against war. It is this:

For the first time in the face of the whole world through a solemn covenant involving the honor of great nations, all of which have behind them a heavy past of political conflict, war is renounced unreservedly as an instrument of national policy; that is to say, in its most specific and dreaded form—selfish and wilful war. Considered of yore as of divine right and having remained in international ethics as an attribute of sovereignty, that form of war becomes at last juridically devoid of what constituted its most serious danger—its legitimacy.

Henceforth, branded with illegality, it is by mutual accord truly and regularly outlawed so that a culprit would incur the unconditional condemnation and probably the enmity of all its co-signatories. It is a direct blow to the institution of war, even to its very vitals.

It is no longer a question of a defensive organization against this scourge, but of attacking the evil at the root itself. Thus shall war as a means of arbitrary and selfish action no longer be deemed lawful. Thus its threat shall no longer hang over the economic political and social life of peoples. Thus shall the smaller nation henceforth enjoy real independence in international discussions.

Freed from the old bondage, the nations that have signed the new contract will gradually foresake the habit of associating the idea of national prestige and national interest with the idea of force, and this single psychological fact will not be the least important factor in the evolution that is needed to lead to the regular stabilization of peace.

Oh! But this is not realism, it has been said, and are not sanctions lacking? It might be asked whether true realism consists in excluding from the realm of facts the moral forces, among which is that of public opinion. In effect, a state which would act so as to incur the reprobation of all its partners would run the positive risk of seeing all of them gradually and freely gather against it with redoubtable consequences that would not be long in ensuing. And where is the country, signatory to this pact, whose leaders would on their own responsibility expose it to such danger?

The modern law of independence between nations makes it incumbent upon every statesman to take up for himself those memorable words of President Coolidge: "An act of war in any part of the world is an act that injures the interests of my country."

Now we can realize how important it is to extend the scope of this wide range of international solidarity which tends, as an ideal end, to encompass the whole of the universe.

When, on the 20th of June, 1927, I had the honor of proposing to the Hon. Mr. Kellogg the form of words which he decided to accept and embody in the draft of a multilateral pact, I never contemplated for one moment that the suggested engagement should only exist between France and the United States. Indeed I have always thought that in one way or another through multiplication or extension, the proposed covenant would in itself possess an expanding force strong enough to reach rapidly all nations whose moral adhesion was indispensable.

It was, therefore, a source of gratification to me to see Mr. Kellogg from the beginning of the active negotiations that he was to lead with such a clearsighted and persevering mind, advocate extension of the pact and assign to it that universal character that fully answered the wishes of the French Government.

It may be said that this desirable universality that was at the origin of the pact has already found its application in actual practice, for the intentions expressed by many Governments enable us even now to consider the spiritual community of the nations that are morally represented at this first signature as being much wider than it appears to the onlookers. All those peoples whose delegates have not been in a position to sit among us today must realize in this hour of complete union our unanimous regret that for purely technical reasons it was found imperative to adopt a procedure best calculated to ensure and expedite, for the benefit of all, the success of this great undertaking.

Thus the mind's eye broadens this solemn assembly of first signatories to a general pact for renunciation of war and extends it beyond the walls of this room and even over all frontiers whether on land or on sea. With this wide communion of men which we feel surrounding us, we sincerely are entitled to reckon that we are more than fourteen around this table. And well may you have noticed that the Government of the republic has purposely ordered that the flags of all nations should be hoisted over the building which is sheltering us today.

Gentlemen, in a moment the awakening of a great hope will be signaled to the world along the wires. It will henceforth behoove us as a sacred duty to do all that can and must be done for that hope not to be disappointed. Peace is proclaimed. That is well; that is much; but it still remains necessary to organize it. In the solution of difficulties right and not might must prevail. That is to be the work of tomorrow.

At this unforgettable hour the conscience of peoples, pure and rid of any

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national selfishness, is sincerely endeavoring to attain those serene regions where human brotherhood can be felt in the beatings of one and the same heart. Let us seek a common ideal within which we can all merge our fervent hopes and give up any selfish thoughts.

As there is not one of the nations represented here, but has shed the blood of her children on the battlefields of the last war, I propose that we should dedicate to the dead, to all the dead, of the Great War, the event which we are going to consecrate together by our signatures.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE KELLOGG TREATY

[From an article by Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, Editor of the *Christian Century*, in the London *Spectator*, August 4, 1928.]

The question takes us back more than ten years. The idea of abolishing war by outlawing the institution of war took form in the mind of Mr. Salmon O. Levinson, a distinguished attorney of Chicago, nearly two years before the League of Nations came into existence. He gave his new idea its first public expression in a magazine article on March 9, 1918, practically a year before the advent of the Covenant. In the same month, the eminent philosopher, Professor John Dewey, published an article which was the first of many subsequent contributions in support of Mr. Levinson's proposal. After the Covenant of the League was laid before the Senate and the country, disclosing the fact that the Peace Settlement had done nothing to change the legal and institutional status of war, Mr. Levinson, up to that time an ardent supporter of President Wilson's peace efforts, began the development of his own concept in terms which he regarded as not only congenial to the best American tradition, but also effective against war. In a number of pamphlets and articles published from 1918 to 1926, he set forth in considerable detail the essence and programme of the Outlawry of War. Mr. Levinson is not only the father of the idea, but he has been the incomparable intellectual leader of the movement.

Among Mr. Levinson's earliest converts were the late Senator Knox, formerly Secretary of State under President Taft, and Senator Borah. Colonel Raymond Robins, a social worker for many years in Chicago's slums, took the lyceum and chautauqua platform for the new idea and proclaimed it to innumerable audiences in every State of the Union. The Rev. John Haynes Holmes, of New York, early identified himself with the movement, bringing to its support the magazine, UNITY, of which he is the brilliant editor. Justice Florence Allen, of Ohio, the first woman to sit on the bench of a supreme court in the United States, who, in addition to her legal eminence, is a public speaker of power, made the Outlawry of War the theme of hundreds of addresses to women's organizations in all parts of the country. The *Christian Century* had its share in the advocacy and interpretation of the proposal.

The popular interest in the idea dates from the introduction of a resolution in the United States Senate by Senator Borah in February, 1923, in which was embodied the full-orbed Outlawry programme. Waiting upon the education of public opinion, Senator Borah reoffered this resolution in three successive sessions of the Senate. It exerted a silent but cumulative stimulus upon public opinion.

It is important that British and European statesmanship shall look beyond the Kellogg proposal to the Borah resolution. The proposal to renounce war is but half of the proposal to outlaw war. It is the first half, the harder half, and certainly the larger half, but it is not the whole proposal. Senator Borah's resolution begins with the renunciation of war and goes on to provide an adequate international organization for the maintenance of peace, an organization consistent with the basic fact that war has been outlawed. The generic concept of such world organization is juridical rather than political. Senator Borah proposes a world court equipped with a code of the international laws of peace and clothed with affirmative jurisdiction. This is the other half of the Outlawry of War. It gives ample room for such arbitration, conciliation, and diplomatic mechanisms as now exist, and embraces also the pacific functioning of the League of Nations. But beyond all it sets a real world court, completely independent of any political agency whatsoever, and functioning for international disputes somewhat after the manner of the Supreme Court of the United States in disputes between the States of the Union. When once the renunciation of war has been effected it is safe, therefore, to presume that the United States will desire to go still further along the path of international co-operation which Mr. Kellogg's proposal has so auspiciously opened up.

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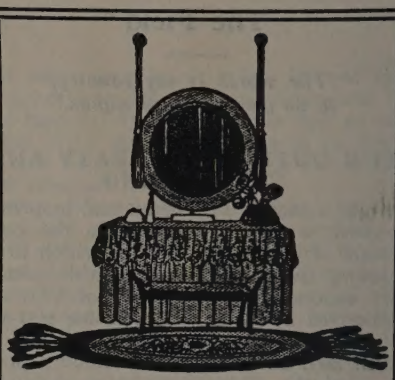

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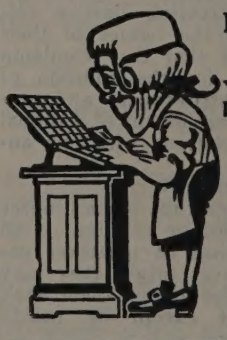

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